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C.I.A. Chief Defends Manual for Nicaraguan Rebels

By JOEL BRINKLEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1 — William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, has written a letter to members of Congress defending a C.I.A. manual for Nicaraguan rebels that advocates kidnapping and assassinating Nicaraguan Government officials.

Mr. Casey's two-page letter, dated Oct. 25, is the first statement to be made public that expresses the agency's view of the document, which has been sharply criticized in Congress and elsewhere.

The White House has said any Central Intelligence Agency official "involved in the development" of the manual "or approval of it" will be dismissed.

But in his letter, Mr. Casey said the "thrust and purpose" of the manual are, "on the whole, quite different from the impression that has been created in the media."

'Emphasis on Education'

He said the manual's purpose was "to make every guerrilla persuasive in face-to-face communication" and to develop "political awareness," adding that its "emphasis is on education, avoiding combat if necessary."

Mr. Casey's letter was sent to members of the Senate and House intelligence committees, along with a translated and annotated copy of the manual and of another agency document for the insurgents, a rebel "code of conduct." Both committees are investigating to see if the agency acted improperly in preparing the manual.

The annotations of the manual show how the document was edited at C.I.A. headquarters. Agency officials told two members of the Senate Intelligence Committee last week that "a great part of the manual "was excised before printing," Senator Malcolm Wallop, Republican of Wyoming, said after the C.I.A. briefing.

But the translation Mr. Casey sent to

members of Congress shows that only one sentence "was deleted in the headquarters edition," the C.I.A. annotation says. That sentence says, "If possible, professional criminals will be hired to carry our selective 'jobs.'"

It is unclear when that sentence was deleted because rebel leaders said it was included in the edition they received.

Mr. Casey would not comment on his letter today.

Reagan Orders 2 Inquiries

In addition to the Congressional investigations, President Reagan ordered the C.I.A.'s inspector general and the President's Intelligence Oversight Board to conduct inquiries. Today the White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, said the C.I.A. investigation was now complete and had been sent to the oversight board.

Mr. Speakes said Mr. Reagan had not seen the C.I.A. inspector general's report and did not know what it says. Mr. Speakes also said he did not know when the Oversight Board investigation would be finished and when, if ever, the results would be made public.

Also today, Representative Norman Y. Mineta, the California Democrat who is a senior member of the House Intelligence Committee, said the C.I.A. had refused to allow the committee to question the agency employee known as John Kirkpatrick, who is believed to be the manual's author.

Mr. Mineta said: "We know who he is, and the C.I.A. knows where he is, and they just refuse to let us talk to him." He also said he had been told that Kirkpatrick was not the man's actual name, and he said he had learned that the manual's author was still employed by the C.I.A. at its headquarters in Washington.

Mr. Mineta and others members of Congress also criticized the C.I.A. today for another explanation of the manual that appeared in published reports this week.

Moderating Purpose Cited

An article in The Washington Post on Wednesday, quoting intelligence officials and rebel leaders, said the manual had been prepared in response to reports of widespread abuse and corruption among the rebels, including rapes, torture and indiscriminate killings of Nicaraguan citizens. The manual, the published reports said, was intended to moderate the rebels' conduct.

In an interview, Edgar Chamorro, the rebel leader who was in charge of publishing the manual, said: "That was one purpose but was not the main purpose of the manual. It was to teach us the principles of guerrilla warfare."

Mr. Chamorro added, however, that Mr. Kirkpatrick "didn't want us to use a shotgun approach; he wanted us to select our targets."

Many unconfirmed reports have been made public in recent months accusing the anti-Sandinista guerrillas of torturing and killing hundreds of seemingly innocent civilians. The reports have included witnesses' accounts from missionaries and others living or traveling in Nicaragua.

Members of the Senate and House intelligence committees and their aides said today that if the American-backed rebels were guilty of atrocities, the

C.I.A. should have told Congress.

But Senator Patrick J. Leahy, the Vermont Democrat who is a member of the Senate committee, said, "There has been a clear absence of any such discussion."

A senior Government official who is familiar with the C.I.A.'s Congressional briefings on the subject said, "They have always said there is a little problem here and a little problem there, but nothing serious."

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How to "Neutralize" the Enemy

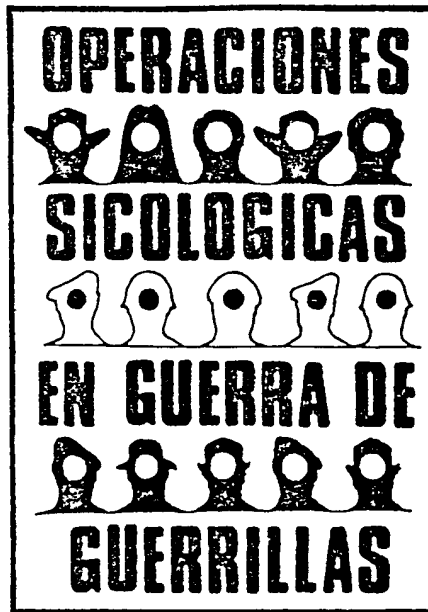
A shocking CIA primer jolts the Administration

The 89-page booklet entitled *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare* is a primer on insurgency, a how-to book in the struggle for hearts and minds. Some of the "techniques of persuasion" are benign: helping the peasants harvest crops, learn to read, improve hygiene. Others are decidedly brutal: assassination, kidnaping, blackmail, mob violence.

It could be a manual for the Viet Cong or the Cuban-backed rebels in El Salvador. If it were, the Administration would likely be waving it as proof of its thesis about the sources of insidious world terrorism. In fact, however, it is a publication of the CIA, written for Nicaraguan *contras* seeking to overthrow the Sandinista regime. Its disclosure last week came as a political embarrassment to the Administration and a major moral one for the U.S. It stirred memories of CIA abuses that were supposedly outlawed a decade ago and gave Democrats a potentially hot new campaign issue.

The pamphlet, written in Spanish, recommends use of "selective violence" to "neutralize" Sandinista public officials "such as court judges, police and state security officials." To make an example of an execution, it is "absolutely necessary to gather together the population affected, so that they will be present and take part in the act." If "it should be necessary" to shoot a "citizen who is trying to leave town," guerrillas should claim that he was "an enemy of the people." Targets who fail to cooperate, the manual instructs, should be "exposed" to police "with false statements from citizens." The finale of a successful local insurgency is a mob riot. "Professional criminals will be hired to carry out specific selective jobs" like provoking a shooting that will "cause the death of one or more people who would become martyrs for the cause." A guerrilla commander stationed in a tower or tree should give the signal to begin the mayhem, the manual instructs. "Shock troops" armed with "knives, razors, chains, clubs and bludgeons" will "march slightly behind the innocent and gullible participants."

The document clearly violates the spirit of an Executive Order signed by Reagan in 1981 that prohibits even indirect participation in assassination. At the very least, the document undercuts Reagan's moral pronouncements condemning state-sponsored terrorism by such nations as Libya, Syria and Iran. Last June, for example, Secretary of State George Shultz declared, "It is not hard to tell, as we look around the world, who are the terrorists and who are the freedom fighters . . . The *contras* in Nicaragua do not blow up school buses or hold mass executions of civilians." (Asked how to reconcile Shultz's statement with the manual, a State De-



Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare

partment spokesman said he was prohibited from discussing intelligence matters.)

A *contra* leader now in exile in Miami, Edgar Chamorro, told TIME that the document is based on notes given him a year ago by a "gringo" who arrived as a CIA operative at rebel headquarters in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. He was described by Chamorro as an Irishman who fought for the U.S. in the Korean War and admired the "psychological operations" of the Irish Republican Army. Chamorro printed up 2,000 copies of the manual and handed out 200 of them to his troops, but then he had second thoughts. He revised the rest by censoring out references to



Contra Leader Chamorro in Miami

Censoring out references to "murder."

"criminals" and "murder." (It was not the only time that *contra* leaders have balked at CIA help. Last spring they objected to a 16-page CIA *Freedom Fighters' Manual*, which showed, with comic-book-style illustrations, sabotage techniques like pulling down power cables and putting dirt into gas tanks. It was eventually distributed, but one *contra* leader objected that the cartoon characters depicted in the drawings "didn't look very Nicaraguan.")

Adolfo Calero, one of the *contra* leaders, denied last week that his guerrillas followed the terrorist teachings in the CIA manual. But in the field, the *contras* do use psychological and physical coercion to win over the peasantry, just as Communist-backed rebel organizations do. Government sympathizers are sometimes executed, and *contra* commanders have discussed assassinating one or another of the nine-member ruling Sandinista directorate. The *contras* had a list of 60 Sandinistas in the village of San Fernando who had to be "eliminated" before the *contras* could safely occupy the town last year, according to those who traveled with the *contras*. (They never took the town.)

Reaction to the CIA manual, the existence of which was first revealed by the Associated Press last Monday, was fast and furious. Walter Mondale demanded the resignation of CIA Director William Casey, and questioned Reagan's role. "Did he know this was going on?" asked Mondale. "I don't know which is worse—knowing this was going on or having a Government where no one is in charge." Congressman Edward Boland, the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, fumed that the document was "repugnant to a nation that condemns such acts by others. It embraces the Communist revolutionary tactics that the United States is pledged to defeat throughout the world." His committee launched an investigation, and its Senate counterpart scheduled a closed briefing by CIA officials.

The White House moved quickly to disavow the document. President Reagan ordered two investigations, one by the CIA inspector general's office and the other by the agency's three-member oversight board. "The Administration has not advocated or condoned political assassination or any other attacks on civilians, nor will we," said Spokesman Larry Speakes. Other officials claimed that the booklet had been prepared by a "low-level contract employee" of the CIA and was never cleared for publication by higher-ups. The document indicates a sophisticated knowledge, apparently drawn from CIA field reports, of techniques currently being used by Communist guerrillas. The key political and moral question is whether senior Government officials knew what the CIA manual was advocating, and if not, why not.

—By Evan Thomas. Reported by Martin Casey/Miami and Ross H. Munro/Washington